1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

517 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

483 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

491 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
526 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
526 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

514 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

508 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pole* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo tuinga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 621 609 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognized as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 621 476 Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

[378]

461 626 476 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

539 626 461

Te pivaʻ elo, malo pipilo,
E kisi ya waao ki tua

Pig smelling, malo stinking,
(He) has not gone to the back (bush to defecate)

Tuku ki ki to wakavaya
Kae mea loa e ao ai.

(He has) placed himself in nevermore
No thing (body) visible (through the fish).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vananga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu emenu pe te poi[8]	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E koa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General Features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 330). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

[8] The elements are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pua'i* for pig (from song) and *poi* for pudding (general usage).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, perhaps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general descriptive terms, *tangata mauatu* or *tangata tau waiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 285 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats (*takapau*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing sennit, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

322 354 461 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continuous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

322 531 Some experts possess a trade mark (*wakamailongo*) which they carve roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *Te Mango* (Shark) or *Te Punga-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*inu kai waka maliega*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

Canoe Crew

502 793 The canoe crew is known collectively as *aoga vaka*. Specialized names for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*wata*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*wulimuli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*kaukau hi muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *wulimuli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift leeboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*nunu*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *tatau*. They are

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the five-ply braid is termed *aoalo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*iua*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ⅜ inch wide, and ¾ inch thick. The commencement end (*komatanga*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¾ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*wahaotinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kawa li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ⅓ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¾ inch wide, ⅓ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*iko*, pl. 3*C*). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kawa li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

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The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*koonga*) is made from stripe of coconut midrib (*kalava*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing bandage (C8057), *koonga kake nia* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yulu* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*koonga yulu*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ⅝ inch wide and ¾ inch thick.

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Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and coco fiber for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
153 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
833 (*vale wu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata malueka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wia eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wiu* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521 421] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little man's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *pala*, *kamai*, and *uanga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared talo, are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of unfavorable conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a baked head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

In former times women held mat-making contests (*uoiapanga pauga*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liaki na pauga*) and chanting as they did so.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

is not interested in platonic love. It is extremely doubtful if it would be possible to explain to him just what such a concept involves.

For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to sex. Whatever the purpose of a chant, whether to glorify a fishing triumph, to grieve over a departed relative, to recite physical and individual skills, all come sooner or later to the fact of sex; and triumphs and skills are woven harmoniously into a context that stresses the greatest joys of Pukapukan life. It is just this cultural patterning that makes Pukapukan culture difficult for a European to comprehend, let alone to appreciate by an effort of feeling. It is this patterning also that makes all chants and stories difficult to translate. They belong to another world of action, feeling, and ideal, widely at variance with our own. But to appreciate this atoll culture is to enrich our knowledge of the wide gamut of characteristic configuration provided by the kaleidoscope of primitive societies.

CULTURAL AFFINITIES

A brief summary of the material presented in this report will indicate the main affinities of Pukapukan culture. It is important to stress the simplifications inevitably produced in Pukapuka by the limitations of an atoll environment. This is most noticeable in material culture (witness the absence of bark-cloth manufacture) but environmental influences also affect social organization. Absence of kava means the non-development of elaborate kava ceremonial; limitations in food resources mean that much time must be spent by both men and women in procuring food. A consequent lack of leisure has not been conducive perhaps to the development of a leisure class of chiefs who could afford the luxury of supporting skilled artisans and craftsmen.

A cursory comparison of Pukapukan material culture with that of Polynesia as a whole indicates that Pukapuka shares largely in prominent elements common to both eastern and western Polynesia. Associations of Pukapukan material culture with elements found only in the west or only in the east are relatively small. A comparison with Handy's list (15) indicates that Pukapukan culture is preponderantly early Polynesian, and shares only secondarily in elements supposed to be characteristic of Handy's *arii* culture.

However, relationships with Samoa and other western islands are relatively close. Bonito fishing and the type bonito hook resemble Samoan patterns. Samoa has many fish traps and Pukapuka few, but Pukapuka has elaborated techniques of deep-sea and surface fishing with baited hooks that are foreign to Samoa. In hunting, the use of spring traps is common to Pukapuka and the west; in fowling, Pukapuka has the bird net, but not the decoy bird. The fowling line is shared with islands farther west than Samoa. Wet-land taro cultivation without irrigation is common to both

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalising with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

526 informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two
weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been run-
ning and toka throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
746 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
261 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation
for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women.
This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas.
In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the
la'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect
nuts and talo, and to fertilise the beds with lau kotawa and to
do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu
on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to
Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Man's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomor-
row fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the
recent four days holiday. New Year next Tuesday, em-
bracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport
program.

527 New Year Activities.
526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th.
Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New
Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day
was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard,
people from each village grouped under its own shelter.
First there was imine, in which singers from each village
sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then
tug-of-war between teams from each village, including wo-
men's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners
from each village visited in turn each other village. Wed-
nesday, January 2nd: Wrestling was held in the churchyard
throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters
as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were
devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each
village visited in turn and played against teams from the other
two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g.,
tohatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food,
fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday,
January 7th and 8th, devoted to tohateka, volevolo, and
coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
790 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
790 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer
by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the